

# THE EXAMINER.

"PROVE ALL THINGS; HOLD FAST THAT WHICH IS GOOD."

LOUISVILLE, KY.: SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 20, 1847.

VOLUME I.

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COMMUNICATIONS.

Distinguishing Traits of the Mosaic Law of Servitude.—No. 4.

The servant had the same religious rights, privileges, and instructions as his master; and was thus regarded and treated as a man; but in all respects a man, an immortal being, and not as a piece of property.

Read carefully the enactments on this subject in Deut. 29, 10—13, and 30, 10—13. With these enactments compare the statutes already quoted in a previous number, regarding the servant to be present at all the great feasts, and the passage from the Jewish lawyer, Maimonides.

Compare, also, texts like the following, which are of frequent occurrence in the Mosaic code. *Also, thou shalt not oppress a stranger; for ye know the heart of a stranger, seeing ye were strangers in the land of Egypt.* Exod. 23: 9. *Ye shall have one manner of law, as well for the stranger as for one of your own country; for I am the Lord your God.* Lev. 24: 22.

The Hebrews had been both strangers and slaves in the land of Egypt, they had been grievously oppressed; and their wise and humane legislator frequently reminds them of their former sufferings to excite their tender sympathies towards those who were in like circumstances among themselves. The term *stranger* is often used synonymously with that of *bondman*; and strangers and bondmen were to be the objects of peculiar regard, especially in respect to the enjoyment of religious privileges.

Compare the law of the Sabbath, Exod. 20: 10. *The seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God, in it thou shalt not do any work, thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, nor thy man servant, nor thy maid servant, nor thy cattle, nor thy stranger that is within thy gate.*

6. Full provision was made to secure the escape of a servant from an unjust and cruel master.

*Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant that is escaped from his master unto thee; he shall dwell with thee, even among you in that place which he shall choose in one of thy gates, where it liketh him best, thou shalt not oppress him.* Deut. 23: 15, 16.

There is nothing in the context to modify or limit in any way the meaning of this statute. It stands entirely disconnected with what precedes and with what follows, and must, therefore, be understood according to the full import of the terms in which it is written. It does not, indeed, prohibit the master retaining his own servant if he can; but it does positively forbid any one helping him to do it. It gives the servant the same chance to escape that was granted to the homicide by laws pertaining to the cities of refuge, in Num. 35.

There is no injustice done by this law understood in its fullest sense. A worthy servant, treated according to the principle of the Mosaic code, would never desert a worthy master—a worthy master would never desire to be afflicted with a worthless servant—and a worthless master has no business with a servant of any kind. We have already seen how easy the Mosaic code designedly made it to deprive a worthless master of all his servants. The statute, understood in its fullest sense, is in exact accordance with the whole spirit and design of the Mosaic law of servitude—which was so to limit and modify and civilize the slavery actually existing that it should become a system of voluntary labor, sustained by the mutual advantage of both master and servant—that the master might have neither motive nor power to oppress the servant, and that the servant might have no strong temptation to defraud the master. This was the point which was reached at last, and towards all this the statutes tended.

The assumption that this statute, expressed in the most unlimited and equivocal terms, applies only to slaves escaping from other nations, is wholly gratuitous, entirely contrary to all the principles of legal interpretation, and directly at variance with the entire spirit of the Mosaic code.

It is a positive statute, and a statute must be strictly interpreted.

It expresses in terms the most universal, and there is nothing in the context to limit in the least degree the meaning of the terms; and there is no other statute in the whole Mosaic code inconsistent with this understanding of it. On every principle of interpretation, we are obliged as honest men, to receive the statute in its literal sense.

But says an objector: "This would abolish the whole system of servitude, which it was one object of the Mosaic code to maintain and regulate; and it is absurd to interpret one statute in contrariety to the whole system."

I grant that the statute thus understood would in time break up the whole system of involuntary, compulsory servitude—and this, I affirm, is the very thing which Moses intended to do, the very thing which as matter of fact, he actually accomplished.

This and nothing else was the very purpose of the whole Mosaic law of servitude, as must be manifest to any fair-minded man who examines it closely; and this purpose in point of fact it did most effectually accomplish.

Is it any objection to the plain, literal, obvious interpretation of this passage, that such an interpretation makes it accomplish the very thing that the whole code to which it belongs was intended to accomplish, and which it actually did accomplish in the Hebrew nation? I think not.

C. E. S.

In our last number we laid down figures in order to find the capital to be removed, so that the whole slave population could be taken from the United States. In our present number we will follow the same method to show that the whole black population now in the State of Kentucky, can be taken away.

1st. The removal of the free blacks.—There are 8,000 of this class in the State, of this number 1,500 are males, and 1,520 are females between 16 and 45. Take first, those who are married, with their children; after such are removed, then remove the unmarried. Say that each family will average four children. This would give six to each family. Draw for 100 families, which would give for emigration 600 souls. It would take two ships—or one ship making two voyages, allowing 300 souls to the ship, to take this number. Add five to twelve per cent. to this 100 families that went the preceding year; and in thirty years who would be in slavery to tell about the time past? The second table shows what is the increase, as matters now stand, over 16 years of age, that would be added to the capital. We assume in this plan, the same as in the first plan, as to deaths—incapability of emigrating, and no removals of slaves to other slave States. Four ships, making each two voyages, will take the whole emigration for a year. This plan takes from the capital to place it at interest in Liberia, and the interest that is taken under five years old, becomes capital to he pleases. It is seen they can be taken away without difficulty. As to the expense of removing them, it can be met by the State making an appropriation of \$5,000 a year, so long as it shall be necessary to remove those who are to go. If the reader judges there are some of the free blacks that ought not to be removed because of their unsuitableness, as colonists, then we decrease the number to go, and the expense to take the whole away.

2d. The removal of slavery from Kentucky. We will give three plans to do it. 1st plan. The increase shall be taken away. Let a law be passed that all born in, and after, the year 1850, shall be free born; but subject to the owner of the mother, until 20 years old. When 20, such shall be hired out by the County Court for two years, to raise funds to pay the passage to Liberia, and the interest that is taken away each year to effect the object.

In 1840 there were 166,817 slaves. " 1841 " 168,853 " " 1842 " 170,254 " " 1843 " 176,107 " " 1844 " 178,837 " " 1845 " 183,742 " " 1846 " 185,582 " This table shows that the slaves increased as follows, from—

1840 to 1841, 2,036 " 1841 to 1842, 1,401 " 1842 to 1843, 5,853 " 1843 to 1844, 2,730 " 1844 to 1845, 4,905 " 1845 to 1846, 1,840 " But we have another table by which we can learn what is the annual number under 16 years of age in the State for these years—

In 1840 under 16 years, 91,396 slaves. " 1841 " 92,844 " " 1842 " 92,844 " " 1843 " 96,107 " " 1844 " 96,297 " " 1845 " 99,958 " " 1846 " 99,904 " This table shows us the annual increase under 16 years of age: from 1840 to 1841 inc. under 16 yrs. 1,458 slaves " 1841 " 6,000 " 1842 to 1843 " 3,263 " 1843 to 1844 " 190 " 1844 to 1845 " 3,661 " 1845 to 1846 decrease was 54 "

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Two methods may be adopted to take emigrants under this plan. 1. Take the whole increase as given in the second table of the slaves. 2. Take the increase as given in the last table, that shows how many are yearly added to the class under 16 years. Let us take the highest increase in any of the six years given; say the increase of 1843 will be the greatest increase in 1850, viz. 5,853; or the greatest increase under 16 years, which was in 1845, viz. 3,661 as the increase of 1850. None shall die of either number, nor be incapable by disease, or vice, from emigrating at the time specified. Nor shall any female slaves who are capable of bearing children, be taken from the State. It will be seen that the whole of either number from either table can be taken away in the year they are to go, viz. 1872. If any of this class should have children, they are to go with the mother. In a few years, the number to be taken is materially lessened; and then it will grow smaller and smaller, until none are found in the State, as slaves, who are under 50 years old. And they will be few in number. If you, on the other hand, allow for removal of adult slaves, male and female, before the law goes into effect, then you lessen the number to be taken away on this plan. It is to be noticed by this plan, that the slaves are recognized by each year's emigration in Liberia. And those broken in the State are attended with this reflection, or the part of those who stay, and who go; liberty, self-government, and avails of self-labor, are to be had for self and all coming posterity. Is the breaking of bonds here, worse than the enjoyment of civil, social, moral and political bonds in Liberia? What white man will say, the latter is a greater evil than slavery to those who go to Liberia?

All of the plans give the owners of the servants, their service and in fact rights in them as property, which are not included in the ages specified in the plan selected to carry out the removal of slavery from the State.

While either of the plans is being carried out, Liberia is yearly gaining strength to receive the emigration from Kentucky. The number assumed to go out in any one year is given on the ground that emigration will go on every year from other States to Liberia.

According to the plans given, those in Kentucky who have no slaves are not taxed to pay the owner for emancipation of his slave, nor for his removal; nor is the owner taxed for the removal of his own servant, or that of another. And that the owners of slaves may feel that they are not the great

We will take the number over 16 years in the year 1846, as our basis for the benefit of the argument, as the number in 1850, when a law to that effect shall go into operation to remove those included in this plan. In the census of 1840, there were in round numbers, 16,000 between 36 and 55. There were 5,000 over 55 and upwards. Halve the 16,000 to get those under 45—which is 8,000. Add this 8,000, to 5,000; which makes 13,000, over 45, years old in the State. Deduct this number from 85,678 those over 16 in the State, and we have 72,678, between 20 and 43 to be removed. This is sufficiently near to show our plan. Take from this capital 2,000 adults, those who are married, and let their children, under five years old, go with them. Add five per cent. annually to the capital that went the preceding year; and in thirty years who would be in slavery to tell about the time past? The second table shows what is the increase, as matters now stand, over 16 years of age, that would be added to the capital. We assume in this plan, the same as in the first plan, as to deaths—incapability of emigrating, and no removals of slaves to other slave States. Four ships, making each two voyages, will take the whole emigration for a year. This plan takes from the capital to place it at interest in Liberia, and the interest that is taken under five years old, becomes capital to him. The progress of population in the free States and in the slaveholding States.

To the people of West Virginia: showing that slavery is injurious to the public welfare, and that it may be gradually abolished, without detriment to their gifts and interests of slaveholders; by HENRY RUFEEFER, D. D., Lexington, Va.

1. The progress of population in the free States and in the slaveholding States.

It has so happened that, from the beginning, these two classes of States have been nearly equal in number and in natural advantages; only the slaveholding States have always had the larger share of territory, with a soil and climate peculiarly adapted to the richest products of Agriculture.

At the first census in the year 1790, these two classes of States were about equal in population: the free States had 1,968,000 inhabitants, and the slave States 1,961,000. So that they started even in the race of population; for the superior extent of the slave States gave them an advantage in the race, far more equivalent to their small inferiority of numbers.

Twenty years later, it was found that the free States had gained 276,000 inhabitants more than the slave States, though Louisiana with her population, had the mean-

ing added to the latter.

The free States continued to run ahead, gaining more and more on the slave States at each successive census, up to the last in 1840, when they had a population of 9,729,000, against 7,320,000 in the slave States.

This result is more surprising when we consider that in 1790, the slave States had a territory embracing 220,000 square miles, against 160,000 square miles in the free States; and that as new States and Territories were added to the old, the class of slave States still gained in Territory, as they continued to fall behind in population.

In 1840, the slaveholding Territory, actually inhabited, contained an area of 580,000 square miles, at least; while the inhabited free Territory, contained about 360,000 square miles. The slave country was therefore less than half as thickly peopled as the free country.

Some advocates of slavery apologize for this result, by ascribing it to foreign emigration, which, they say, goes almost wholly to the free States. We deny that it did; what are we to infer from the fact? That Slavery does not check the growth of States? No; but on the contrary, it checks their growth in various ways; partly by repelling emigrants who would come from the free States and from foreign countries—whether it does, and partly by driving out free laborers from the slave States into the free States—which it does, also.

But this general comparison between the two classes of States, does not truly measure the effect of slavery in checking the growth and prosperity of States; because, in the first place, it takes in the new thinly populated slave States, where slave labor operating on new soils of the best quality, had not time to do its work of impoverishment and desolation; and, because, in the second place, it takes in some States, both old and new, in which the slaves are comparatively few, and a predominance of free labor counteracts the destructive tendencies of slavery. Such are the old States of Maryland and the new State of Missouri; and those others: as Kentucky and Tennessee; in which slavery, though deeply injurious, is less than half as thickly peopled as the free country.

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Our own West Virginia furnishes conclusive evidence, that slavery, in all quantities and degrees, has a pernicious influence on the public welfare. But we reserve this example to a subsequent head of the argument, where we can present it in a more complete form.

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sufferers by the law of gradual emancipation with removal, let the tax on slave property be taken off, and the amount be raised on property owned alike by the slaveholder and the non-slaveholder. Either of these plans can remove slavery from the State, and no burden fall upon owner, slave, or State.

A COLONIZATIONIST.

ADDRESS

To the people of West Virginia: showing that slavery is injurious to the public welfare, and that it may be gradually abolished, without detriment to their gifts and interests of

# THE EXAMINER.

J. C. VAUGHAN, EDITOR.  
F. COBBY, ASSISTANT EDITOR.

LOUISVILLE: NOV. 20, 1847.

## A Calculation.

The Cincinnati Chronicle, referring to the report of the Auditor, makes the following just estimate of the value of Slave-Capital:

*Number of Slaves in Kentucky,	189,569
Aggregate value,	\$8,115,584
Value of each individual,	\$306

Estimating the cost of keeping a family, on the lowest scale of comfortable life, the average cost of a family of six persons, (including all the children,) cannot be less than \$300 per annum. The interest on the value of each slave at 6% per annum would be \$486. \$10,616 more. Applying these aggregates to the whole number of slaves in Kentucky, and we find that the cost of keeping slaves, amounts, in each year, to more than Thirteen Millions of Dollars!

The total valuation of the State is \$254,716,183. The cost of keeping the slaves, then, amounts to five percent, on the entire amount of capital in the State of Kentucky. The slaves also demand a great interest on property.

If those individuals supported themselves, the result in production to the State, would be at least equal to what it now is, while the enormous tax upon other property would not exist. This, however, is a question in Kentucky."

And a very serious question, too—on which cannot be blinked except to her detriment, in every way.

## The Complaint—The Answer.

The Parkersburg (Va.) Gazette complains of the number of citizens leaving the Old Dominion. "Hundreds are going," it says "to the far West. What is to be done? How shall the evil be remedied? If no remedy is applied, Virginia will become almost a wilderness."

To this the Norfolk Herald, a leading Journal of Eastern Virginia, replies:—

Now in this there is nothing that should cause regret in Virginia. Those who are lured by the prospect of gain, or who really believe that they can better their condition by emigrating to the new States, follow their bent; and we soundly condemn Europe's great interest on property.

If those individuals supported themselves, the result in production to the State,

would be at least equal to what it now is, while the enormous tax upon other property would not exist. This, however, is a question in Kentucky."

But this is the reverse of what you suppose: Dr. Rufner supposes it will, if slavery be continued. But this is clear, that the true policy of Virginia and Kentucky, is, to retain their people, and thus prevent even any "momentary weakness," and at the same, to give freedom a motive to settle in them.

But how is this to be done? The Herald furnishes the answer. *Freedom* is the specific—That will stop emigration, and insure immigration—will retain our present population, and add largely to it from other States; and the sooner this specific is applied the better. The Herald is emphatic on this point, and we honor it for its honesty and candor. It shows that Virginia, East as well as West, is resolved to meet the difficulty in a mood which will brook no delay, and tolerate no suspense!

Let Kentucky, the daughter, win the glory of leading Virginia, the mother, in this great and good work!

## The Way.

Our Carolina friends have raised thirty thousand dollars for the new pro-slavery paper at Washington; they mean to increase it to a cool fifty.

This is "doing the thing" with a vigorous spirit. It is like them. For say what you may, about their extremes and folly, they go to work earnestly in whatever they undertake and do it.

There no holding back of dollar or of daring: they give freely, and fight bravely; and if a breach is to be made, or a forlorn hope to be led, the men are the men for it.

Bat what an example for anti-slavery men!

How much might they accomplish, if they would act with the same vigor! Pit energy against energy—meet enthusiasm with enthusiasm—let moral might grapple with moral might—in this great cause, and who would fear the encounter or doubt about the result? Up, then, friends and act.

## Mr. Clay's Speech.

The great speech of Mr. Clay is not yet out. Probably it has been published to-day at Lexington. If so, we shall have it early next week.

There are some incidents, however, connected with the delivery of the speech, which show the spirit of the man and the occasion, and which several correspondents having noticed them, we desire to put on the record.

The parts of Mr. Clay's speech that elicited the most applause were those, which announced that he would have died rather than voted for a lie, (referring to the preamble of the war-act) and which denounced slavery and the extension of it.

When about to introduce the latter subject, he paused, and in his deepest voice, and most imposing manner, said:

"I regard slavery as a great evil—greatly to be deplored—and I will add, fraught with injustice to our fellow beings who are the subjects of it."

Long, earnest, and deafening applause followed this announcement. "The dullest heart," says one correspondent, "would have beat multitudinously." "I wanted when he said this," declares one ardent and true hearted Kentuckian, "to give a yell that would wake the nation."

The orator catching the full force of the feeling around him, and rising with the occasion, affirmed with deeper emphasis, and more stirring eloquence:

"Fifty years ago, I advocated the adoption of the Pennsylvania scheme of Emancipation, and had it been made the law, we should have been entirely rid of the evil of Slavery. And with the added experience, observation, and reflection of fifty years, I still advocate that scheme—so wise, so politic, and that scheme—so wise, so politic, as not to have been adopted: for MY OWNERS NOW ARE PRECISELY WHAT THEY WERE THEN."

The enthusiasm here was seemingly at its height. "I clapped, danced, and shouted," says one usually sober. "I feel like a boy, so glad was I to hear a Kentuckian, talking out so bravely for freedom," adds another of our grave citizens. "I tell you, my friend," affirms a young Emancipator, "Old Hal (God bless him!) has this day done a work for anti-slavery in the South, which will do wonders."

But from all accounts—Democratic as well as Whig—the most exciting scene of all was, when Mr. Clay read and took the vote upon his speech, and raising his tall form to its utmost height, uttered a short appeal "which thrilled every heart."

"I am now about to offer a resolution on another subject. I hope that this audience—I trust that you will all sustain it. Their *sister* calls for a response. The common justice which animates and unites them, demands that they should repudiate the thought of acquiring territory for the purpose of extending the evil of slavery."

The audience waited not for the resolution: They knew what it was! And as one man a deafening cheer rang out. "No robbery for slavery least of all," exclaimed another. "And," says one of our correspondents, "the cheer told me, as I would tell the world, that Kentucky never was, and never will be, a propagandist of slavery, or a servitor or defender of any propagandist."

Silence was restored, and Mr. Clay read the next resolution:

Short followed short upon its adoption! It seemed as if the pent up feelings of the crowd had, for the first time, an opportunity to flow out, and be expressed. The occasion was literally revolved in. "I behaved like a boy," said a friend to us, whose heart is devoted to the cause of freedom. "I was drunk with joy, as I heard Henry Clay speak against slavery as he did."

Such were the signs, unwritten yet spoken, witnessed at Lexington; and what bode they? What is their import? "That is the man of the people who will boldly utter himself on the subject of slavery for the people." They know its injustice. They feel it wrong. And they will have him as a deliverer who will lift up his voice wisely, and testify by his example, against this injustice and wrong. *The South wants no slave extension, nor slave Territory.* Let those, elsewhere, who are for FREE SOIL, but do their duty, and never will the curse blacken a foot of Mexican land by our consent."

We could give fuller details, as our correspondence is full, too full to be used, but we prefer, with this brief sketch of some of the signs of the times, as seen on the 13th, at Lexington, to let Mr. Clay explain and speak for himself. Meantime, we give the following outline of his speech which appeared in the Cincinnati Enquirer, with the resolutions:

## The Meeting.

Gen. LESLIE comes called the meeting to order, and hoped that a perfect silence might be observed, as it was probably the *late* time that the illustrious individual now before them would ever address a popular assembly.

He had resolved to do so on this occasion, from a high sense of duty to himself, and the country. The momentous question now before them was, whether the American people, by conquest or purchase, an immense foreign territory, inhabited by millions of people of different races and colors, and placing them on an equal footing with the free white citizens of this Republic, permitted, indeed, who loved his country to remain silent;—and Henry Clay would have been unworthy of his past history, if he had allowed any selfish considerations to puzzle his tongue. "We would rather right the President to President."

Gen. COMBS then proposed that a President of the meeting be appointed, and named the Hox. GEORGE ROBERTSON for that office, who was accordingly chosen. He then proposed as Vice Presidents Dr. B. W. DUDLEY, Wm. RHODES, Jno. W. HUNTER, John R. DUNLAP, Jacob HUGHES, Robt. W. HARRIS, Wm. MOORE, Wm. T. CLARK, Geo. W. DAWKINS, Wm. BENNETT, Geo. W. DAWKINS, John CURD, O. H. P. BAIRD, W. P. BROWNING, Joseph BRANTON, C. G. HART, Geo. W. C. GRAVES, The Hon. George TROTTER, Richard SPURR, C. C. CARR, and Robert A. ATHEY, acted as Secretaries.

## The Resolutions.

1. Resolved, As the opinion of this meeting, that the primary cause of the present unhappy war, existing between the United States of America and Mexico, is the annexation of the Republic of Mexico, was the annexation of Texas to the former; and that the immediate occasion of hostilities between the two republics arose out of the order of the President of the United States for the removal of the army under the command of Gen. Taylor, from its position at Corpus Christi to a point opposite to Matamoras, on the East bank of the Rio Grande, within the territory of the Republic of Mexico, and in violation of the resolution of that Republic, and of the citizens; and that the order of the President for the removal of the army to that point, was improvident and unconstitutional, it being with the concurrence of Congress, or even any act of Congress, that it would be right to adopt, and to make to the President by whom you please, he is in effect as powerful as a Caesar, an Emperor, or a King. You give to one man a power that the Constitution never contemplated.

Mr. Clay continued to dilate, at considerable length, upon this topic, and in his concluding speech, the Congress should declare, at the coming session, what are the objects of the war, and what should be the conditions of a peace. If it is declared solely by the President, when war is once declared, to say when it shall stop, and what are its objects, then may I call the President by what name you please, he is in effect as powerful as a Caesar, an Emperor, or a King. You give to one man a power that the Constitution never contemplated.

Mr. Clay said he was opposed entirely to annexing the Republic of Mexico. territory. We do not want it. We have already millions of acres of unoccupied lands. We do not want elbow room; extending, as our limits do, from the Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico, and from the Atlantic to the Pacific. If Congress stated that they would be satisfied with certain limits, establishing what they considered the proper boundaries of Texas, he could not believe the President would refuse to accept such boundaries. He was already heartily tired of the war, and would doubtless be glad enough to adopt any plan by which peace would be restored.

As to having difficulty in settling a boundary line, he (Mr. Clay) would be willing to undertake, in sixty hours, to secure their co-operation.

The truth was that Mr. Polk imagined the war with Mexico would succeed. Such has been the case. He has been successful in his efforts to sustain the war—

2. Resolved, That, in the absence of any formal and public declaration by Congress, of the objects for which the war ought to be prosecuted by the President, it is the duty of the President to make known to Congress, the reasons for which he has adopted the war, and to determine the extent of the nation's right to prosecute it.

3. Resolved, That by the Constitution of the United States, Congress, being invested with power to declare war, and grant letters of marque and reprisal, to make rules concerning captures of ships and goods on land and water, to raise and support armies, to provide for their maintenance, and to reward their officers and soldiers, it has a right to determine of any war, when it commences, or at any time during the progress of its existence.

4. Resolved, As the further opinion of this meeting, that it is the right and duty of Congress to declare, by some authentic act, for what purposes and objects the existing war ought to be further prosecuted; that it is the duty of the President to make known to Congress, the reasons for which he has adopted the war, and to determine the extent of the nation's right to prosecute it.

5. Resolved, That, as the further opinion of this meeting, it is the right and duty of Congress, to provide for the safety and security of our armies in Mexico, in every contingency.

It is the right and duty of the President to do all that can be done to sustain the army in Mexico, and to sustain it in every way.

6. Resolved, That, as the further opinion of this meeting, it is the right and duty of Congress, to provide for the safety and security of our armies in Mexico, in every contingency, and to sustain them in every way.

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from the present panic, and will do it—but her system shuts out the poor from every opportunity of making a living, and then compels the wealth wronged out of them to supply their wants with paper homes, and alms-houses. Another year of reverses—another winter of gloom in England, and famine in Ireland, will go far towards teaching the British people, the necessity of making this radical reform—of having a Government which will be something more than a prey of royalty or an appendage of the aristocracy!

The failures of large Houses we do not regard as the great masters—but the suffering and want of the poor we do. We deeply regret to notice evidences of increased difficulty in Ireland, and the beginning of a wide distress in England. Fifty thousand persons have been thrown out of employ in Lancashire alone! Destitution will be the lot of nearly all of them. The following official returns for Manchester for the three weeks ended Oct. 19th, will show the number of operatives on short time, and out of employ:

Full Time.	Short Time.	Out
Oct. 5 -	24,315	7,956 - 8,736
12 -	23,200	- 8,701 - 9,108
19 -	18,516	- 12,198 - 10,341

The reductions still being carried rapidly forward, so that there is a prospect of greater destitution than Manchester has ever known before.

But Great Britain will recover from this panic, and work through her Irish difficulties, and be prosperous for a season, though she will never be permanently so until she applies the caustic and incision knife, with fearless hand, to her political system.

IRELAND is full of trouble. Monster meetings are being held—the cry of “bread—bread”—from the starving many heard. At Carfin, there was an open air demonstration. So, also, at Ballymena. Clare is full of destitution. The Rathoone work-house had been destroyed by some 500 persons. Indeed, save in Ulster, and those counties, or parts of counties, where the tenant is secure on his farm so long as rent is paid (and in them there has been no starvation, and very little suffering) the country is in frightful disorder—robbery succeeding robbery—and murder following murder. The horrors attending the massacre of Mr. Roe are forgotten in the fresher horrors which accompany the assassination of Mr. Lucas. The prospect for winter is gloomy enough. Its storm-wind will not rage so furiously as the passion of revenge which now tosses and tears the peasant heart of Ireland.

SPAIN—We stated in our last, that the French had triumphed in Spain. This, in itself, is an important event, and may lead to important consequences. On this account, we refer to the subject again.

The true patriots in Spain have been long anxious for an entire reform in governmental affairs, and *Espana* was pitched upon as the issue of it. It is thought, by many, if he had repaired to Madrid, (he has been exiled in England for some time) the moment he was restored to his honors, that this object might have been accomplished without difficulty or bloodshed. But he did not do so. On the 4th October, there was a ministerial crisis. SALAMANCA was displaced, and NARVAEZ put in power. The result is, that CHRISTINA returns to Madrid, that ISABELLA will be forced to abdicate, and the Dutchess of Montpensier will become Queen of Spain! Thus Louis Philippe will provide for another branch of his family, and, apparently, extend and strengthen French sway. On the other hand, England protested against the Montpensier marriage. Will she stop there? Will she consent to the abdication of Isabella, and the “enthronement” of Louis? The *Liberale*s of Spain hope not—for they are all resigning and leaving Madrid, knowing that Narvaez will spare none. As for the Spanish people—they are nothing without leaders. If then, England follows up her protest with war, what can she do? Narvaez is in power. He has on his side all the bravos, and leading military men. And France could pour into Spain one hundred thousand men, while England was collecting half that number! It is evident, however, that Narvaez looks for war—he is bribing and buying men at a great rate, giving offices to the vilest characters—and money (French gold) to the boldest and basest of Spaniards. He honours the butcher of Alcantara and Cartagena, ROXAS, SERANO is made Captain General of Granada—and it is even said that the base Granado will enter his cabinet!

The Peninsula will soon be the theatre of new and exciting scenes. Should war arise between England and France it will be a bloody one. Should the former wait the result of things in Spain, we shall probably hear of revolutions in that country more fatal than any which have yet swept it. For the brutal and corrupt Narvaez cannot, we think, long retain his power.

France is draining her people of their surplus cash! The loss of £10,000,000 is negotiated. This is for the Vice-Royalty of Algeria, and was obtained at heavy rates, and at the worst possible period—that is, amid scarcity and panic. The French Press grieves over it, and says it will lead to financial embarrassment, and general distress, and Calais—Lappon, when Minister of Finance, declared there was no necessity for this loan at all. But Louis Philippe wants men and money; for Algeria ostensibly—for Spain, for France, or against England, if necessary.

The Pope has established a Council of State. The introduction to the decree contains fifty-six articles. In *Tuscany* the punishment of death had been abolished. The Austrian negotiation do not promise very favorably as regards peace. It is said unless some third party interferes, there must be difficulty between the Pope and Austria don't prevent it, we are confident this will be the result.

**One Day Later.**—The steamer New York reached Newport on the 14th, short of coal.

Nothing of general interest, except as regards Switzerland and Italy.

The Swiss Diet met on the 18th October at Berne—a conciliatory spirit was manifested. Rumors that hostilities had commenced were entirely groundless. It is thought all difficulties will be amicably adjusted. If France and Austria don't prevent it, we are confident this will be the result.

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A Georgia paper, say, in effect, it is causative that the North will do as regards extension of slavery. The free States are for free soil, if they have any.

The New York Evening Journal (*Whig*) concur, in saying, that the electors were called upon to decide, “through the ballot boxes, whether the blight and curse of Slavery shall be extended over new and free soil; and that all have responded to that in which will echo and re-echo throughout the Union, thrilling the hearts of Free-men with joy, and causing ‘Dough-Faces’ to turn pale and quake.”

The latter paper adds:

“It would be alike unjust and unwise, even if we had the disposition, in the face of facts, to do so, to attempt to enslave the slaves. Their condition is, in all respects, the same as our own. There are other slaves than those in the South, and they are not without leaders. If then, England follows up her protest with war, what can she do? Narvaez is in power. He has on his side all the bravos, and leading military men. And France could pour into Spain one hundred thousand men, while England was collecting half that number! It is evident, however, that Narvaez looks for war—he is bribing and buying men at a great rate, giving offices to the vilest characters—and money (French gold) to the boldest and basest of Spaniards. He honours the butcher of Alcantara and Cartagena, ROXAS, SERANO is made Captain General of Granada—and it is even said that the base Granado will enter his cabinet!

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## LITERARY EXAMINER.

OCTOBER.

I saw old Autumn in the misty morn  
Stand shadowless like silence, listening  
To silence, for no more could sing  
Into his heart from woods far and near.  
Now lowly hedge nor solitary thorn—  
Shaking his languid locks all dewy bright  
With tangled gossamer that fell by night.  
Pearling his coronet with golden corn.  
Where are the songs of Summer?—With the  
sun,  
Opning the dusky eyelids of the South,  
Till shade and silence waken us up, as  
And Morning sings with a warm odorous  
mouth.  
Where are the birds? Away, away,  
On panting wings through the inclement skies,  
Lest owl's should prey  
Undazzled at noon-day,  
And tear with horrid beak their lustrous eyes.  
Where are the blossoms of Summer?—In the West,  
Blushing their last to the last sunny hour,  
Where the mild Eye by sunset Night is prest  
Like tearful Proserpine, snatched from her  
flowers  
To a most gloomy breast.  
Where is the pride of summer—the green prime?  
The many, many leaves all twining? Three  
On the blossomed boughs make like  
Trailing and one upon the old oak tree!  
Where is the Dryad's immortality?—  
Gone into mournful cypress and dark yew,  
Or wearing the long gloomy winter through  
In the smooth holly's green eternity.

The squirrel goats on his accomplished board,  
The ants have brimmed their garners with ripe  
grain;  
And honey-bees have stored  
The sweets of Summer in their luscious cells;  
The swallows all have winged across the  
main;  
But here the Autumn melancholy dwells,  
And night's fearful spell  
Among the sunless shadows of the plain,  
Alone, alone,  
Upon a mossy stone,  
She sits and rocks up the dead and gone.  
With the last leaves for a love roseary,  
Whilst all the withered world looks drearily,  
Like a dim picture of the drowned sea.  
In the hushed mind's mysterious far away,  
Doubtful what ghostly thing will steal the last  
Int' distance, gray upon the gray.  
O go and sit with her, and be o'ershaded  
Under the languid downfall of her hair;  
She wears a coronal of flowing hair.  
Upon her form lies a faint perfume—  
The fragrance of withered every where  
To make her bower—and enough of gloom!—  
There is enough of sadness to invite,  
If only for the rose that died—whose doom  
Is Beauty's—she that with the living bloom  
Of conscious cheeks most beautifies the light;—  
There is enough of sorrowing, and quite  
Enough of bitter fruits the earth doth bear—  
Enough of chilly droppings for her bow:  
Enough of fear and shadowy despair;  
To frame her cloudy prison for the soul!

### The Three Voices.

What saith the past to thee? Weep!  
Truth is departed:  
Beauty hath died like the dream of a sleep,  
Love is faint-hearted;  
Trifles of sense—unconscious unreality,  
Scare from our spirits God's holy ideal—  
So, as a funeral-bell, slow and deep,  
Solemnly laboring.  
So lets the past to thee? Weep!

How speaks the present hour? Act.  
Walk, upward glancing;  
So shall thy footsteps in glory be tracked,  
Slow, but with a strain of pain;  
Scorn not the malice of daily endeavor;  
Let the great measure enable it ever;  
Drop not o'er efforts expended in vain;  
Work, as believing labor is gain.

What doth the future say? Hope!  
Turn thy face toward!  
Look where the light brings the far rising slope;  
Day cometh onward;  
Watch!—Thou longe longe twilight delaying  
Let the first sunbeam arise in these thy prayings:  
Fear not for greater is God by thy side,  
Than armies of Satan against thee allied!

### The Living and the Dead.

From Sharpe's Magazine.  
I will notice a few instances of the strange picturesque superstitions with which the poor Irishman, in happier times, loved to encircle the memory of his dead.

A fine day in autumn, about two years since, as a friend of mine who resides in a wild district of the south, was walking on the road near his house, he overtook a countryman returning from the next market-town. He was a stout, middle-aged man, tolerably well dressed, and evidently belonging to the class of small farmers.—After the customary salutations, (in no country do strangers, meeting casually on the road, greet each other more cordially than in Ireland,) Mr. —— entered into conversation with him, as they walked along together.

"This is a fine day for the country, your honor, thanks be to God for it."

"It is indeed," replied Mr. ——, "and pleasant weather for walking. Have you far to go?"

"Why, middling, sir; my little place is about five miles off, up at Gurnhounen."

"I suppose you were at M—— this morning?"

"I was, then, sir, just doing a trifl' of business at the market; for herself\* was not able to go in to-day, and I had to sell some fresh eggs and young chickens for her."

"You seem to have been purchasing also," said Mr. ——, looking at a large brown-paper parcel, which he carried under his arm.

The man's countenance changed. "I was, your honor," he said, in a mournful voice. "After two years' saving, 'tis only now I was able to buy the maskings of a cloak for my little girl."

As he spoke, he opened the parcel, and displayed its contents, a piece of fine blue cloth.

"That will make a very nice cloak indeed," said my friend, smiling. "Your daughter will outshine all her neighbors next Sunday at mass."

"It cost two guineas, sir; and though I'm a poor man, 't is more I'd think of than of the mud under my feet, if it would bring ease or comfort to the soul of my darling. Ah, ma coleen bawn!" he cried, clasping his hands in sudden agony, "the fifteen years you were left to me can be as quick as the winter streams down the side of Coom Rhue, and as pleasant as if the warm sunna stopped with them always. But the dark day came at last;—and when the mother and I saw you stretched before us, as cold and as white as the snowdrift on the hill, we thought the life within ourselves was gone forever! I ax your pardon, sir, for talking so wild; but indeed there was few in the whole country like our Nelly. Even when she was a slip of a child, going to the school, Father Jerry himself would stop her every Sunday after the chatechiz to stroke her fair head, and tell her she answered the best of them all. Well, after a while, when the first sun was over, and the mother and I had time to take some comfort from the two boys that were left us,—begin to give us some trouble to think that she died without a cloak, and that maybe the crathor that we keep all her life tender and warm, like a pet lamb, might be suffering now for the want of it. So we set to work, saving every penny we could scrape together, till we'd have enough to buy her a good one; and though the sorrow and the loneliness is hurting our hearts yet, still 't is proud the mother and I will be to see it handsonly made, and waiting for her in the house."

\*In Ireland, "herself" is the term invariably and emphatically employed by the peasant to designate his spouse, when speaking in the third person, the masculine pronoun being similarly applied to him by his better half.

"Surely," said Mr. ——, "if your daughter be, as I hope she is, in heaven, she will not need a cloak to shelter her there."

"No, sir," replied the man, reverently touching his hat; "I suppose she won't."

"And in the other place, of dreadful punishment, it is equally certain that no earthly garment can avail as a covering."

"True for your honor."

"Well," continued my friend, "you believe what we deny, that there is a third place, which you call purgatory; but by all accounts it is a very hot place—what else could the want of a cloak there?"

"Some of them," replied the father, earnestly, "do be very cold there. In parts of it, there's a dale of frost, and snow, and sleet, and hail; and how do I know but my darling child might be there, thinking hard thoughts of the father and mother that wouldn't get a cloak to cover her? Any way, 't will be made, and left in the house; we do in regard of the other world. However, you see, we won the race fair; and I put it to you, now, is it right that them shingangs forming you should bury their friends first, and have Thady Callaghan attending the likes of him with water?"

"In that case," said Mr. ——, "it would, I think, be a good plan if you had it made large enough to cover both; your daughter's spirit might then find shelter under it, without depriving your wife of its use."

"That's very true; indeed, sir, I never thought of that before. Please God, I'll have it done; and, sure 't will comfort the mother's heart, when she's going to mass or to market, to think she has the spirit of her *coleen bawn* along with her underneath the cloak."

This is the substance of a *bona fide* conversation: the firm persuasion entertained by the poor father that the departed possess a sort of semi-corporeal existence, is very general among the peasantry in the remote districts. Near the towns, of course, such superstitions have dwindled away, and the present general diffusion of education thro' the land will probably tend to banish them completely from the minds of the rising generation. Even now, it is often difficult to draw from the mountaineer a candid confession of his faith in such matters. "T is a sin and a shame for any two sets of Christians, let alone neighbors, to be fighting with one another, like wild hastes, over the bodies of the dead. Callaghans and Carty's, you seemed both of you to come up party much about the same time. Now, I'd like to know what's to hinder Father Jerry—I see him coming towards us now, walking, poor man, as fast as the gout will let—what's to hinder him, I say, from standing right between the two graves, and reading to you with a series of as improbable, not to say impossible, fictions, as ever graced the hot-pressed pages perpetrated by an errant and arrant cockney. Those, however, who reside amongst them, and converse with them skilfully and kindly, without betraying any latent disposition to mock, will often discover curious corners and recesses of the Irish mind. Old customs and traditions also, lingering among the pagan monuments to which they probably owe their origin, are often, when explained, interesting alike to the poet and the antiquary. In later times, the imaginative spirit, which still dwells amidst our highlands, has given form and consistency to many a strange idea connected with the gude and occupations of the dead.

I was struck with an instance of this which fell lately under my own observation, in the mountain district of the south to which I have before alluded. A belief is entertained there, and very generally, I think, in other places, that the last person interred in a churchyard is compelled to draw water for the refreshment of the souls in purgatory, until he is relieved by a new comer. When, therefore, it happens that two funerals are fixed to take place on the same day, the hurry, the racing, the fighting that occur between the rival parties, each wanting to secure precedence of interment for their friend, defy all description. On such occasions, it will sometimes happen that the coffins are fractured in the struggle, and the cold, ghastly faces of their occupants become exposed, presenting a horrid and revolting contrast to the flushed, angry countenances that surround them. Some times the scene ends in bloodshed; more frequently the weaker party yield the *pas*, with a bad grace, indeed, and generally inspired with thoughts of peace by the cogent arguments of the officiating parson's horsewhip, which potent in its office as the Trident was the sceptre of Ulysses, when it visited Thersites' back—seldom fails to quell a rising tumult.

In the village of L—— there is an old church-yard whose narrow precincts are already filled with graves; yet, as it lies in the centre of a large parish, funerals arrive there very frequently. The grounds of a friend of mine adjoin it; his flower-garden is, indeed, divided from it only by two iron fences, and a narrow lane between, so that the inexpressibly mournful tones of the Irish cry are often heard distinctly there, contrasting painfully with the sweet song of birds, and all the joyous melodies of summer time. One day, as Mr. —— was standing in his garden, he saw a long procession appearing on the brow of the opposite hill. It wound slowly down a path made through the hedge, and the wild sound of wailing that floated faintly on the breeze, told the reason of the sad array. As they approached nearer, the bearers of the coffin quickened their pace almost to a run, followed by their companions; and when they reached the road which led towards the churchyard, they dashed forward with a speed most unsuited to their solemn errand. The reason was soon evident. Passing a turn of the road, in the opposite direction, there appeared another funeral, approaching with equal rapidity. At the moment that they came in sight, both parties were about equally near the goal; and it seemed impossible to tell which would win the race. A race indeed it was, for the rival bearers, exchanging a loud shout of defiance, rushed on as rapidly as if no burden rested on their shoulders. Arrived at Mr. ——'s gate, the people from the mountain saw that their direct path lay across his lawn and garden, and, by rushing through, they might gain on the enemy. No sooner thought of than accomplished. With the most reckless disregard of crushed flowers and trampled beds, they ran across, thinking not of the mischief they were doing one whom, nevertheless, they all loved and respected. They gained the churchyard, but owing to the intervening hedge which had to be surmounted, their rivals were there before them.

"Tis no good for ye, ye mane spal-peens," shouted the leader of the mountain party. "Twas well we licked ye last fair day, when poor Denis was to the fore; and why wouldnt we do so much now to save him from demeaning himself by being winter-carrier to one of your breed." Hurrah for the Carty's!"

And, without waiting for his foe's retort, which was by no means slack or slow in coming, he brandished his shillelagh, and, followed by his friends, rushed on to the combat. Furious and deadly would have

been the affray—indeed, at its conclusion, the candidates for sepulture would scarcely have been limited to two, but just at the critical moment, five or six well-armed "peelers" were seen advancing. The constable who headed them was a shrewd elderly man, thoroughly versed in the character of the people, and "up" to all their ways. He did not make any hostile demonstration, but, interposing boldly between the parties.

"For shame, boys," he said, "for shame, to be fighting and destroying one another over the cold corpses of them that deserve better usage at your hands!"

"Mr. Nagle," said the leader of the Callaghans, lowering his brandished cudgel—a powerful movement which produced a pause between the combatants on both sides—"I'm satisfied to leave it all to you, for 't is well known you're an honest, sensible man, though, not being of our profession, 't is n't reasonable to suppose you'd feel the same as we do in regard of the other world. However, you see, we won the race fair; and I put it to you, now, is it right that them shingangs forming you should bury their friends first, and have Thady Callaghan attending the likes of him with water?"

"In that case," said Mr. ——, "it would, I think, be a good plan if you had it made large enough to cover both; your daughter's spirit might then find shelter under it, without depriving your wife of its use."

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